1: Karsten--214-215
116, 832, 302, 824

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Various love charms are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, and naturally more frequently by the men than by the women. These love charms are obtained partly from the plant world, partly from the animal kingdom. Among the former, an important role is played by a small plant which among the Ecuadorian Indians is best known under its Quichua name simayuca, of which the Jibaro name simaika is but a corruption. Under this name at least two varieties are included: the one is smaller and specially cultivated by the Indians, the other grows wild, but both, and especially the former, are used as love charms. The smaller is probably a Peperomia species; it is found in the forests of Western Ecuador also and is by the Colorado and the Cayapa Indians used exactly in the same way as by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The plant is used in different ways as a love charm; any part of it is believed to have a wonderful power of exciting the sexual passions of the opposite sex when it is brought into some contact with his or her body. It is enough to take one of the small leaves, fold it up and rub a girl with it on the arm: the girl will instantly be filled with love for the young man doing so. More commonly, however, the charm is prepared in the following way. The whole plant is dried in the sun, whereupon it is pulverized and mixed with the red seeds of the roucou (Bixa orellana). When preparing this charm the Indian has to fast one day; otherwise the charm would be quite ineffective. The red powder is put in a small round gourd and carried in the bag (uyúna) where the Jibaro Indian keeps other charms, the sticks

for drilling fire, etc. This kind of red paint is called muspa in the Jibaro language. The Indian, when he is about to pay a visit in a strange house, paints his face with it in a special way, especially round the eyes, and the painting is supposed to exert an irresistible influence upon a woman. The women 'becomes mad', starts to dance and sing, and will easily follow the man. The Jibaro Indian makes use of this charm, not so much to attract a girl whom he wants to marry, but more frequently to seduce married women in the house they are visiting. The muspa, or leaves of the simaika, are however used not only by men, but also by women who want to attract [215] a man, being thus a means by which both sexes mutually excite each other's erotic passions. It is impossible to say for what reasons the apparently harmless plant in question is so universally regarded as a love charm by both Indians and mestizos. The Canelos Indians, who use it much in the same way as the Jibaros, explained to me that the mere touching of the plant with the hands will instantly awaken in them longing for a woman.

There are other plants which are said to have similar erotic effects. Thus among the numerous plants which are called by the common name piripiri, and all of which are used for special magical purposes, there is one called noa piripiri ('the women's piripiri') which is used as a love charm much in the same way as the simaika. A leaf of the plant is mixed into some food--for instance a dish with mashed manioc--which the woman has to eat, and it will have the effect of arousing in her love for the man."

l: Karsten--215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 832, 302, 825 (1928-29)

"Other love charms are obtained from the animal kingdom and some of these even have the character of aphrodisiaca. Animals such as the nose-bear, the dolphin (apúpa), the caiman (kanyátsa), and the water boa (pangi) in this respect play a part in the superstition of the Indians. Thus for instance, from the penis of the nose-bear, which is bony, they scrape off a little powder and mix it into a drink or food which the woman has to eat or drink; this is believed to excite her erotic feelings so that it is easy for a man to seduce her. In the same way the CANELOS INDIANS use the penis of the caiman: they mix a little powder, scraped from it, into a gourd of brandy and drink it with a view to enhancing their own sexual potency. The water boa again, of which so many superstitious ideas are held, also yields a kind of love charm. When the Indians have killed an anaconda they take out its eyes and dry them in the sun whereupon they pulverize them and mix them with roucou, just as is done with the dried leaves of the simaika plant. The red painting thus obtained, when applied to the face and especially round the eyes, is believed to have an irresistible influence upon women. As to the dolphin, the Canelos Indians are in the habit of skinning the penis of the animal and preparing the skin as an armlet. When a man embraces a girl with this arm, she will fall in love with him. Since the bracelet is coloured red with roucou it cannot be distinguished from the natural colour of the skin of his arm. The grease of the dolphin is by the same Indians used as an aphrodisiacum. Adipe delphini penem ante coitum ungent, sic in muliere voluptatem maxime augeri putant."

2: Stirling--103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 832

"The women frequently wear on the breast an amulet which they call 'napue.' This consists of a collection of objects which are supposed to be beneficial in producing sexual attraction and in holding the affection of the woman's mate. These objects consist of certain perfumed herbs, manatee teeth, bird bones, and similar miscellaneous objects. While collecting and attaching each object to the napue the woman sings and prays for assistance from each spirit represented in the amulet."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

593 met, they fought. Finally, Ašaŋã gave his sister to Tukupī.
605 Thereafter, when Ašaŋã beat Tukupi's sister, Tukupī beat Ašaŋã's sister.

Tukupī said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupī and Ašaŋa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other
602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest
606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her.
576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even
• [832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for
[578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 837
by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 831
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs 832
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [534]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

14:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these *hamemata* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

While such *hamemata* songs have a courtship function between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, including married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require frequent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that